

Philpott S.

[The politics of purity: discourses of deception and integrity in contemporary international cricket.](#)

Third World Quarterly 2018,

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1432348>.

Copyright:

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Third World Quarterly on 07/02/2018, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/01436597.2018.1432348>.

DOI link to article:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01436597.2018.1432348>

Date deposited:

23/01/2018

Embargo release date:

07 August 2019



This work is licensed under a

[Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International licence](#)

The politics of purity: discourses of deception and integrity in contemporary international cricket

Introduction:

The International Cricket Council (ICC) and civil prosecutions of three Pakistani cricketers and their fixer in October 2011 concluded a saga that had begun in the summer of 2010 with the three ensnared in a spot-fixing sting orchestrated by the *News of the World* newspaper. The Pakistani captain persuaded two of his bowlers to bowl illegitimate deliveries at precise times of the match while he batted out a specific over without scoring a run. Gamblers with inside knowledge bet profitably on these particular occurrences. This was a watershed moment in international cricket that saw corrupt players swiftly exposed unlike the earlier conviction of the former and now deceased South African captain Hansie Cronje whose corruption was uncovered much after the events and who some now regard as primarily tragic rather than unscrupulous.¹ Cronje's confession implicated other South African and Indian cricketers, some subsequently banned, while South Africa's Nicky Boje avoided touring India fearing arrest and questioning by Indian authorities.² More recently, allegations of corrupt practices among players has been a feature of the Indian Premier League.³ Yet despite ongoing revelations demonstrating corruption is entrenched and widespread, the English cricket establishment and media reserves special condemnation for Pakistani cricketers and their supposed debasement of the game. These long-established discursive practices rendering Pakistan and its cricketers as untrustworthy puts sporting flesh on the old bones of Orientalist censure of Indian sub-continental, and specifically Muslim, cultures. However, highlighting Pakistan's responsibility for the alleged deterioration of cricket's values and standards betrays elite collective amnesia about the game's origins and politicisation over many decades and anxiety about England's relative decline as a cricketing power. Success in sport among former colonies disturbs British nostalgia for its imperial and colonial past and provokes apprehension about England's future prospects.⁴ Consternation about the direction of contemporary cricket is often framed by past (and some current) players, the English media, and administrators in narratives of deception and cheating.

I argue that claims about 'Paki cheats' debasing a game regarded as relatively innocent in the context of modern sport, provides an ontological security for assertions of the superiority of English culture and morals over those that now regularly defeat England. Condemnation of the Pakistani other forms part of an English inability to confront its colonial and imperial past and 'the damage it did to [its] culture home and abroad, and...the extent of [the] complex investments in the ethnic absolutism that sustained it'.⁵ Given Pakistan is a predominantly

Muslim nation condemning its cricketers as 'cheats' fits into a broader pattern of what Greg Noble calls highly moralistic evocations of evil which form part of resurgent conservative and religious attacks on the supposed moral relativism of contemporary liberal societies. On this view, there is a hardening of boundaries between good and bad, law-abiders and wrongdoers, 'endemic to the globalised culture of fear and panic we now inhabit'.⁶ The blurring, in sports discourse, of boundaries between individual responsibility and supposed cultural attributes has grave consequences for the Muslim other because such discourses extend Orientalist tropes concerning Islam in contemporary world politics. However, while sport informs discourses of identity, like other so-called neglected media, it is not widely regarded as having the cultural prestige to warrant serious scholarly analysis.⁷ Indeed, as Ben Carrington argues:

otherwise comprehensive and authoritative introductions, readers and edited volumes on race and racism can still be written with barely a mention of sport as a key aspect of popular culture, despite the fact that sport is an important (and occasionally vital) site for racial contestations and meanings in its own right.⁸

My specific interest in this article is to highlight how framing Pakistani cricketers in discourses of deceitfulness and cheating is a form of Orientalist caricature that encourages the active forgetting of other misdemeanours that undermined the game. A conflation of race, ethnicity and religion, Pakistanis pose a unique danger to the generally unspoken alignment of cricket's supposed fair play and liberalism's level playing field.

Imperialism and Cricket:

There is no singular reading of the spread of cricket and British imperialism. In settler societies such as Australia, cricket was an extension of British, and particularly English, life adapted to new social and geographical circumstances. In that context, success against England in cricket was proof positive of the vitality of the Australian colonies and the ability of people of British stock to adapt successfully to new climatic conditions.⁹ In the Indian sub-continent, cricket served to implant 'English ideas of manliness, stamina and vigor into Indian groups seen as lazy, enervated and effete'.¹⁰ It was also an important symbol of 'imperial solidarity and superiority epitomising a set of consolidatory moral imperatives that both exemplified and explained imperial ambition and achievement' and aimed to instil a moral code based on teamwork, obedience to rules and respect for fair play.¹¹

As C.L.R. James observed:

our masters, our curriculum, our code of morals, *everything*, began on the basis that Britain was the source of all light and leading, and our business was to admire,

wonder, imitate, learn: our criterion of success was to have succeeded in approaching that distant ideal- to attain it was, of course, impossible.¹²

Cricket perfectly expressed the kinds of relations Britain sought between colonised and coloniser. 'The discrepancy in authority between player and umpire is an unerringly accurate reflection of colonizer-colonized relations...[T]he game of cricket and how it is played demonstrates the most subtle interpellation of the colonized into the social arrangement'.¹³ Of course, assertion of the universality of such rules, values, discipline and wider imperial politics were in the very least an attempt to silence alternative views and experiences of cricket and worldly politics. The colonised were not necessarily passive in their acceptance of such values and views.¹⁴

In some, but not all, colonial settings cricket was a means of asserting social control over the colonised but also functioned to inculcate loyalty to 'Anglo-Saxon constructions of whiteness'.¹⁵ Indeed: 'No sport relies so heavily on international rivalry as cricket, nor pits white so consistently against black, former master against uppity ex-servant'.¹⁶ As a consequence:

cricket has long been a forum for contests over race, culture, gender and moral authority in the British Empire/Commonwealth. Even as the game has functioned as an instrument for the assertion (and defence) of English-elite-male models of authority, the colonized and the decolonizing have attempted to subvert or to capture this authority. In every instance, these attempts have been resisted by the defenders of the old centre, by co-option if possible but also, if necessary, by casting aspersions on the morality, masculinity or centrality of the challenger.¹⁷

Moreover, cricket was a rare activity where the subdued were encouraged to hit out beyond the boundaries imposed upon them. That is, displays of overt physicality in the presence of the coloniser were intolerable and actively discouraged but in cricket, athletic prowess was admired albeit in ways characterised by Orientalist understandings and expectations of the sporting other.¹⁸ Moreover, while playing the game well was important: 'The best way of beating the British... was not a determination to win at all costs but the maintenance of the values the colonisers themselves professed but only occasionally lived up to'.¹⁹ This tension between the values of the coloniser and colonised, the contest between the physical attributes of rulers and ruled, and emergent demands for political reform are extensively explored in the Bollywood film *Lagaan* (2001). The film concerns a capricious British official of the Raj who imposes a heavy burden of taxation on villagers under his administration despite drought and crop failure making his demand impossible to meet. Certain of winning, he challenges the petitioning villagers to a game of cricket the result of which will determine either the removal or tripling of the tax. The official's sister, revealing fractures in the edifice of empire, teaches the villagers how to play and so test the superiority of the colonisers. The woman is motivated

to break faith with the colonial project because of her brother's violation of the supposedly cardinal British virtue of fair play.²⁰ The unlikely victory of the villagers marks an 'originary moment' where both Indian cricket and nation are born. Defeat of colonial power on the playing field also marks assertion of the moral righteousness of the villagers' plea for tax relief and by extension for control over their own economic and political affairs.²¹ Indeed, the film's hero, Bhuvan, explains acceptance of the challenge as a necessity arising from 'ontological exhaustion- psychic and physical fatigue produced by continually battling unbeatable historical odds'.²²

Physical Attributes and Moral Character: The Colonial Origins of the Cricketing Other:

Muscular Christianity's vision of spiritual, cultural, and moral regeneration achieved through the vigorous masculinity of strong, healthy bodies had particular consequences for the framing of at least some of Britain's colonised peoples. The smaller, less physically imposing, non-Christian cricketers of the Indian sub-continent were regarded as playing the game through artifice, artful spin bowling instead of pace, 'wristy' flicking of the ball while batting rather than the raw power of the drive back past the bowler. These approaches to the game remain recognised as distinctively Indian sub-continental styles of play but entail an assumption that Asian cricketers succeed through ploy, wiles, ingenuity and cerebral rather than physical power.²³ For example, fast bowlers from the Indian sub-continent often rely more on swinging the ball rather than outright pace and, in part through the uniquely dry and abrasive conditions found on pitches there, were early masters of reverse swing bowling.²⁴ A number of players, because of their different approach to bowling, have struggled to fend off allegations that they are 'chuckers' (that is, that they throw, rather than bowl, the ball).²⁵

Observations of physical attributes often spill into assumptions about character. For example, early in the 20th century Lord Harris, former Kent and England captain, contended that 'excitable' Indian batsmen tended to throw away their wickets and that they lacked the 'phlegmatic' Anglo-Saxon patience that was the mark of the truly impressive.²⁶ Such views doggedly persist. In a popular history of cricket replete with ethnic and national stereotypes, the former England cricketer and BBC broadcaster, Trevor Bailey writes (in a chapter entitled Eastern Magic) of (Indian) sub-continental cricketers:

They liked the guile and the grace, the lack of hurry, the sudden bursts of excitement between long periods of peace, the thrust and counter thrust, when sheer physical strength could be crushed by speed and eye, the beauty and the style.²⁷

Notable in these Orientalist characterisations is the feminisation of sub-continental cricketers. Projecting feminine attributes onto Asian cricketers demeans them as non-threatening, inferior in body, character and approach to the game. Leela Gandhi refers to the 'myth of Hindu effeteness: that ubiquitous fable common to English imperialists and their Indian

nationalist counterparts, attributing the conquest and enslavement of India to the physical enervation of the malnourished Hindu male body'.²⁸ Thomas Babington Macaulay's negative commentary set 'the tone for a pervasive imperial critique of Indian physical culture' in describing Bengalis' as 'feeble even to effeminacy.' On this view, lack of courage and independence explains their long history of conquest at the hands of supposedly bolder and harder breeds of men.²⁹

Yet, highlighting distinctive attributes encourages cricket lovers to admire other traits in the cricketer. Contemporary media descriptions of the great Ranjitsinhji, who played 15 tests for England that straddled the turn of the 20th century, included references to jugglery, wizardry, black magic and that his wrists resembled jungle creepers.³⁰ Such commentary suggests not appreciation of the sophisticated and orthodox but what is perceived as uncultured, savage, natural and untutored, simultaneously inferior and superior to the modern self.³¹ Yet, benign admiration for 'wristy' Asian batting technique may make short the journey to impugning violence on the part of a West Indian fast bowler.³²

Orientalist accounts of cricketers from the Indian sub-continent are entrenched and routinely predictable in the western media. Test series between the 'white' cricketing nations of Australia, England, New Zealand and (the increasingly mixed-ethnic) South Africa and the 'brown' cricketing nations of Bangladesh, India, Pakistan and Sri Lanka are often fractious, with allegations of misconduct and cheating framed in racist terms. For example, writing in the mid-1980s former England player and then cricket broadcaster Tom Graveney wrote: '[c]laims of cheating by Pakistani players are nothing new. They have been doing it since 1951...it has got worse and worse'.³³ Echoing Graveney's sentiments former England captain Raymond Illingworth observed of Pakistan and its cricketers: 'Pakistan has always been iffy, and Pakistanis, in the main, difficult. Now they're becoming downright Bolshie. Given a chance they would trample all over us'.³⁴ **Noteworthy in these denigrating remarks is the assumption that players emerge from a systematically corrupt society.**³⁵ Ready acceptance of Pakistani malfeasance contrasts with expressions of disbelief upon Hansie Cronje's exposure. Indeed, arguments circulated that Indian police may have fabricated evidence and that his religious beliefs militated against the plausibility of the allegations. Once guilt was proven, Cronje's unscrupulousness was blamed on the immorality of the Indian subcontinent that had 'ensnared, seduced and corrupted and erstwhile icon of white moral purity'.³⁶

The English media's response to an extremely effective Pakistani swing bowling attack during its 1992 tour of England was to accuse the bowlers of ball tampering, illegal under the rules of cricket but reasonably commonplace in practice. The campaign was vitriolic, extensive, and short on evidence. It is significant that credentialed journalists and an England test cricketer tottering towards the end of his career levelled the allegations of Pakistani misconduct.³⁷ The media was a Trojan horse for England's team management but an investigation carried out under ICC auspices found no basis for the allegations. Nonetheless, media descriptions of the

Pakistanis included 'indisciplined', 'petulant', 'peeved', 'overheated', 'distracted', 'aggressive', prone to 'tricks and tantrums', 'wilful', 'capricious', 'hot-headed' and, inevitably, 'volatile'.³⁸

In 2006, Pakistan became the first and to date only team to forfeit a test match after declining to resume play after a scheduled break having objected to the field umpires' alleging ball tampering in the previous session. Despite widespread criticism of the handling of the matter by the umpires given neither they nor TV cameras could produce any evidence of any player changing the condition of the ball, yet another dimension was added to the discourse of 'Paki cheats'. The Pakistan captain was subsequently cleared of the charges.³⁹

Utterances about the conduct of Pakistani cricketers bear the authority of respected former England cricketers, BBC broadcasters and print media journalists. They speak cloaked in the power of the institutions of cricket and media giving their truth claims particular weight. Moreover, allegations of cheating stray from the field of play and invoke a deeper array of anxieties, fears and prejudices about the Pakistani other as illustrated by Ray Illingworth's comments. Of the 1992 events, another former England captain, Bob Willis, observed: 'It's just the way the Pakistanis are brought up to play their cricket...Everything is confrontational. They don't say sorry willingly and don't often accept they are in the wrong...it's not part of their character'.⁴⁰ Here Willis drills deeply into Orientalist discourse about the supposed character attributes imposed by Islam and Pakistani national identity to conjecture about the Muslim other. Such baseless speculation feeds narratives about the untrustworthiness of Muslims that characterise contemporary western polities. On this reading, the supposedly apolitical sports pages of major print media outlets reinforce and legitimise negative political commentary about Muslims and Islam.

Discourses of Deception and Cheating:

Deception and cheating are powerfully negative concepts in the Judeo-Christian west despite at a personal level deception being vital to the formation of the self. Without practicing deception infants cannot effect individuation and separation from their parents, adults cannot establish boundaries or avoid unnecessary social friction, and the vulnerable have one less tool at their disposal to protect themselves against intrusions upon their liberty.⁴¹ Indeed, learning to practice deception, to maintain confidences, to keep secrets and to (white) lie are key steps in the development of children and their passage into successful adulthood.⁴² Deception and cheating are commonplace among adults and often tolerated. For example, at least some marketing distorts facts about products; employees lie about reasons for absences, help themselves to stationery, or make embellished expenses claims. Employers may lie about an employee's prospects, or publish false accounts. Insurance claims often entail clients making cost-benefit analyses about the consequences of telling the truth about an event. Such conduct is accepted up to an ill-defined point of an authority declaring it excessive or harmful.⁴³ Yet, it is assertion of one's moral self, at individual and collective levels, as honest

and truthful that underpins claims to moral and/or cultural superiority. For example, there is ample analysis of colonial discourse that highlights the sneaky, lazy, underhanded, and untrustworthy 'other'.⁴⁴ Of course, colonial relations were profoundly unequal making strategies for carving out space relatively free of encroachment essential for the colonised. James Scott refers to such strategies of passive resistance as weapons of the weak⁴⁵, or hidden transcripts⁴⁶, while similar conduct on the part of slaves in the US is called masking by some.⁴⁷ The point of feigning stupidity, laziness or passivity was to win some small measure of freedom in extremely difficult circumstances. Deception of this kind is perhaps the most plausible strategy that people living in relations of great inequality have, the others being flight, abject submission, escape via suicide or into insanity.

However, western concerns with cheating and deceit continue well beyond colonialism. Patrick Porter argues the portrayal of non-European others as irrational or disrespecting of particular norms is a recurrent feature in military discourses and encourages deeply emotional responses to the west's enemies. He notes that because Japan was regarded as fundamentally dishonest, the mid-20th century conflict between it and the US, Britain and their allies took the form of a vicious race war, a complex politics of emotional and affective response to threat.⁴⁸ This, according to Porter, also explains the deep antipathies of the war on terror. Yet, much western disapproval of alternative ways of fighting is deeply entangled with cultural anxieties, doubts, and fears of cultural decline and corruption in modern, urban, liberal societies, further heightening concerns about the practices of the other.⁴⁹

Bowyer Bell and Whaley explain the difficulties they had securing public funding for research on cheating and deception in the US of the 1970s and 1980s.

Americans, individually and collectively, dislike to resort to deception, except in military matters or to maintain the secrets of the national security apparatus. Even a theoretical study of deception was seemingly risky, and, for some, unsavoury....Thus, our subject was curious, unsavoury, dubious, and classified. Worse, it engendered no interest.⁵⁰

They argue the lack of interest is not unique to the security/military/intelligence complexes in which they worked, but forms part of the wider Judeo-Christian culture of the West that abhors dishonesty. Lani Kass and Jack London endorse the view noting that the US tends to deplore the use of deception as a weapon of the weak.⁵¹

Yet:

Surprise, denial and deception are as old as war itself. Surprise attacks, ruses and guiles were practiced by biblical warriors and kings. A millennium later and a continent apart, their virtues were recognized and extolled as the "strategist's key to victory" by

the Chinese warrior-philosopher Sun Tzu in his seminal *Art of War*. From ancient empires through two world wars, to the twenty-first century, nations and non-state actors have practiced surprise and deception and fallen victim to them- often with devastating consequences.⁵²

As they note surprise, denial and deception are the ultimate asymmetric threats because they interfere not just with one's ability to assess the capabilities of the other but one's own vulnerabilities as well. Arguably, this aspect of deceit provokes the strongest outrage albeit often in a form projected onto the other.

In sport, Elspeth Probyn argues the west's claim that 'fair play' is its most cherished ideal is a demonizing mechanism that lays blame for excessive competition and shame in sport at the feet of its other. On the one hand, the west needs a world of unbridled competition upon which to mount its ethical arguments about fair play and on the other hand, can then claim to be innocently drawn into particular forms competition that corrupts the gift of sportsmanship it offers the world.⁵³ I want to extend Probyn's argument and suggest that allegations of deception and cheating in sport are the ethical ground from which denigration of the entire culture of the other occurs. For example, C.L. Cole notes from its first appearance at the Helsinki summer Olympics of 1952, the US construed Soviet sport as inauthentic, deceptive and disregarding of rules while 'American bodies were represented in registers of life itself, as the original site of vibrancy and spontaneity'.⁵⁴ On this account, US sportsmanship was democracy at work.

Yet, there are many instances in sport where deception gives pleasure to spectators and players alike. The unexpected drop shot in tennis often catches the receiver anchored on the base line. In rugby union, a running player may feint a pass to deceive a potential tackler. In a recent cricket development, a batsman may swap his or her stance the moment prior to the bowler releasing the ball rendering redundant the field set. The drop shot deception is within the rules of tennis, but upon the first cricket switch hit in an international match, a debate ensued as to the adequacy of existing laws.⁵⁵ Rugby's rules about a feigned pass are clear but complex highlighting the necessity to codify deception to ensure maintenance of the ebb and flow of the game.⁵⁶ These simple examples illustrate deception is part of intelligent game play. Moreover, exhibiting the intention to undertake a certain act while executing another involves risk taking which enhances the satisfaction of the player if the deception succeeds. 'The possibility of achieving such levels of satisfaction is central to the aspirations of many competitors: their successes are applauded, not condemned'.⁵⁷

There is variety in our admiration of deception whether in entertainment, politics, military affairs or sport. The sporting examples I have used suggest that at least some on-field deception is harmless and either within or not necessarily threatening to the rules of a given game. However, not all deception and cheating can be characterised so simply. Diego

Maradona's infamous 'hand of God' goal in a 1986 soccer World Cup match successfully deceived the referee and through explicit rule breaking conferred an advantage unavailable to his team's opponents. This particular act may have altered the outcome of the entire World Cup tournament. Here, deceit and cheating are inseparable.⁵⁸ Maradona's conduct caused outrage among English and European soccer fans but for Argentinians and others angry about Britain's prosecution of the Falklands War earlier in the 1980s, Maradona's humiliation of England was seen as courageous, heroic and filled with symbolic importance.⁵⁹ Nonetheless, consistent rule breaking of Maradona's kind threatens not just match outcomes but the integrity of sport itself. However, the distinctive interpretations of the goal usefully illustrates the possibility that perceptions of deception and cheating are culturally bound. It is to this issue I now turn.

The Asian Other and the Debasement of Cricket:

In his summing up of the case against the four Pakistani conspirators, Justice Cooke argued the very name of cricket is associated with fair dealing on the sports field and that 'it's not cricket' is an adage, a general truth, to which the four conspirators had done serious damage.⁶⁰ At around the same time, journalist Andrew Miller contended yet 'another veneer of innocence' had been lost as a result of the affair.⁶¹ Former England captain, Mike Brearley, whose cricket career finished in 1982 observed: 'my generation of players was innocent: we lived in a Garden of Eden before the Fall', going on to conclude his article, as if to emphasise the game's classical values, with references to Virgil and Shakespeare.⁶² Writing for *The Independent*, Stephen Brenkley, suggested players from the (Indian) subcontinent were particularly impressionable and vulnerable to the 'insidious influence' of illegal bookmakers.⁶³ Others accused the Pakistanis of betrayal⁶⁴, of causing irrevocable damage to cricket⁶⁵, while former umpire, Darrell Hair, referred to Pakistan players as 'cheats, frauds and liars'.⁶⁶

Nonetheless, as Mike Marqusee observes:

From nearly the beginning people have said the game is not what it used to be. Standards of technique, sportsmanship, loyalty or patriotism are perennially in decline. Crowd behaviour has always changed for the worse. And money is forever corrupting a noble pastime.⁶⁷

However, commentary about the loss of cricket's innocence conveniently overlooks some highly unsavoury aspects of its recent administration by, older white men of questionable competence. For example, the key institutions of English cricket, the Marylebone Cricket Club (MCC) and the Test and County Cricket Board (TCCB), long provided sustenance to the apartheid regime in South Africa.⁶⁸ The International Cricket Conference⁶⁹ itself was guilty of inaction on the question of South Africa's participation in test cricket up until supporter

protests forced the issue in the early 1970s.⁷⁰ Indeed, it was the insistence of white cricket administrators that sport was above politics that allowed Australia, England, NZ to play against South Africa and there was 'considerable resentment in those countries when people from the subcontinent and the Caribbean, not to mention England's own non-whites, insisted on "bringing politics" into the purity of sport'.⁷¹ As recently as the mid-1990s, former MCC president, Tim Rice, railed against Hit Racism for Six campaigners arguing that they had created a problem where none existed. Cricket, he argued, was 'one of the least racist features of British society'.⁷² Few administrators or journalists took issue with Henderson's argument blaming coloured cricketers for England's problems or signed up to the objectives of the Hit Racism for Six campaign.⁷³

Elite cricketers continued to play in South Africa even after its prohibition from international cricket. Tens of cricketers from England, Australia, the West Indies, Sri Lanka, made handsome earnings playing in so-called rebel tours, with each subsequently banned from representing national teams and suffering varying degrees of ostracism. The tours directly contravened the boycott of sporting contacts set out in the Gleneagles Agreement of 1977. Consequences differed greatly for those who participated in the tours. West Indian cricketers received life bans and were harshly shunned, personally and professionally, for providing succour to the apartheid regime.⁷⁴ In contrast, two former England captains, Graham Gooch and Mike Gatting (three year bans), enjoyed lengthy stints of well remunerated employment with the England and Wales Cricket Board (ECB). Australians Trevor Hohns and Steve Rixon have had lucrative careers with the Australian Cricket Board / Cricket Australia while some including Mike Haysman enjoy successful careers in the cricket media. Other tourists returned to cricket and a number remain active as coaches or administrator/ managers. One cannot reasonably speculate on whether rebel sports tours extended apartheid rule but they helped revitalise South African cricket through the money generated and were very popular with spectators. They may have indirectly contributed to the suffering of the disenfranchised majority.

In comparison, at the time of his offence, the youngest of the Pakistani conspirators, Mohammad Amir, was eighteen and already greatly admired for his bowling prowess. By his own reckoning, he was pressured into bowling two no-balls at specified times in the 2010 Lords test match at the behest of his captain and other older men in and around the team. Young, frightened, caught up in the whirlwind of his meteoric rise, he succumbed to the pressure applied and cooperated.⁷⁵ The so-called spot-fixing he facilitated did not alter the outcome of the match, indeed, had almost no bearing on the play and so is a lesser crime than match fixing. Nonetheless, his actions are a serious breach of cricket's anti-corruption code and prosecution by the ICC was followed by civil action. He served time in a youth offenders' institution and completed a five-year ban before the recent resumption of his international career. Amir's crime was not victimless but, arguably, his punishment is severe compared to those who helped prop up the apartheid regime in South Africa. **Indeed, as Vic Marks argues,**

the ICC's desire to use Amir as a deterrent outweighed the need to make the punishment fit the crime.⁷⁶

Moreover, in the wake of spot-fixing trial, the former head of the ICC's anti-corruption unit, Paul Condon, argued that match fixing was 'rife in the 1980s and 90s, and involved all the major nations'. He asserted test matches and World Cup matches were 'routinely fixed' in the late 1990s but that such practices might have had their origins in English county and Sunday league fixtures. He suggests that distorted results were in evidence prior to the 1980s but that fixing became more sinister during that decade.⁷⁷ On one reading, this seeming newfound determination by the ICC and other anti-corruption officers in regular police forces is to be welcomed though it must be emphasised that the ICC had no hand in exposing the Pakistanis. On another, given Condon's contentions about the entrenched nature of corruption in international and English cricket, questions arise about the absence of action by authorities and apparent lack of interest in the cricket media up until the entrapment of the Pakistani three. What, specifically, is it about Pakistan's cricketers that provoked media interest and commentary on the problems of corruption given Condon's remarks about potentially far more serious abuses dating back at least two decades? Why the focus on Pakistan's cricketers given evidence of serious corruption in the Indian Premier League?

It may be that amplification of concern for cricket's values coincide with a long period of decline in England's performances dating from the mid-1980s. The demise of England as a power in world cricket is coterminous with other changes: the cricketing triumphs of former colonies (primarily colonies of the dark skinned); the rise of commercialisation; extensive media coverage; and, significantly, national passions and loyalties eroding the supposed Victorian values English cricket claims to value and defend.⁷⁸ In its contemporary form, international cricket represents '...the pinnacle of competitive excellence, thereby re-enacting and strengthening national identities'.⁷⁹ On this view, an appeal to the values that underpinned its period of global dominance attempts to shore up an England in decline.

The move of ICC headquarters from London to Dubai and the aggressive rise of India as a financial behemoth in world cricket has deeply irked cricket traditionalists in England (and Australia). There is resentment among cricket's 'white' communities that rather than simply observing the established values of the game, cricket may become a vehicle which enables Muslims, Hindus and others to shape at least one aspect of a world in which they struggle to be recognised as equals.⁸⁰ The culture of cricket is informed by different values and priorities in the Indian sub-continent and in Pakistan can even be construed as a form of carnivalesque resistance to established political power.⁸¹ Jack Williams argues that the English media in particular is critical of 'Asian-led commercialization of international cricket.' He cites Frank Keating writing in *The Guardian* in 2000:

You desperately yearn for the days only a decade ago when the ICC was an almost unheard of adjunct of dear old MCC and its buffers...who would hold amiable meetings over a couple of pink gins about the value of leg-byes....The game- and for sure the certainty of its morals and ethics and innate goodness- has never been the same.⁸²

Here Keating explicitly links the decline in cricket's morals, ethics and essential goodness with the rise of new cricketing powers and the emergence of innovations transforming the game. Happily, there were contemporaneous challenges to Keating's nostalgia. Stephen Moss, editor of the cricket 'bible' *Wisden Cricketers' Almanack* observed of cricket writing: 'Its anglocentricity is absurd for a game where the balance of power now lies on the Indian sub-continent and in Australia. The commemoration of the past is dangerous for a sport which must quickly find a role for the future'.⁸³ However, cricket journalism's fixation with supposedly simpler times masks a broader unwillingness to put the game's future into the hands of a rising cast of other cricketing cultures. On this reading, the administrative and journalistic custodians of English cricket cling to a vision that privileges 'the past over the present, the rural over the urban...while...setting out conservative ideals of social and gender relations'.⁸⁴

While cricket may be a refuge for administrators, fans and media there, too they confront upstarts and transition. On this view, Britain's decline as a global power plays out in cricket as resistance to change and repeated assertion of the superiority of the game while it remained under English tutelage. This lament most often manifests as 'innocence lost'. While there was great regret expressed about what the spot-fixing revealed about the state of the game, it also provided another avenue for finding those who do not fit Robert Henderson's formulation of 'unequivocal Englishmen' as responsible for the deterioration in cricket's integrity. The interest in and reporting of the spot-fixing trials and convictions is another way in which 'England' attempts to recuperate the game from the grasp of those it regards as unfit custodians.

This, in my view, largely happened in casually racist and ethnocentric discourses. The exposure of Pakistani cricketers as 'cheats' extends long-standing English cultural assumptions about Pakistan 'informed by age-old stereotypes...as a sociological and cultural opposite—and poor relation—of the West'.⁸⁵ However, in seeking to rejuvenate a form of the game described by Lord Harris in 1931 as 'more free from anything sordid, anything dishonourable, than any game in the world' not only do nostalgic commentators expunge cricket's imperial and colonial history, they actively forget the more recent traducement of the game's values by white administrators and players.⁸⁶ Moreover, the comments of former cricketers and cricket journalism are important vectors in spreading anti-Islamic and anti-Muslim feeling from matters of cricket to wider social debate. For example, Chris Searle notes cricket journalism in the (Conservative) *Sun*, (Labour) *Daily Mirror* and (liberal) *Guardian* significantly contributed, over an extended period of time, to the entwining of individual personality and national character. This is the Pakistan of caricature in which individual misdeeds are extrapolated into

national, cultural condemnation.⁸⁷ In this respect, Pakistani cricketers are folded into much broader discourses about the west's others as devious, untrustworthy and unwilling to be bound by the west's rules of economic and global political management.

Conclusion:

Mohammad Asif, Mohammad Amir and Pakistan captain, Salman Butt, undoubtedly engaged in spot-fixing and did reputational damage to the game of cricket. All received lengthy bans and served time in British correctional institutions. They deceived teammates, their opponents, cricket followers, and gamblers without the inside knowledge that allowed others to profit. Upon one reading, the difference between sport and entertainment is uncertainty about the outcome and through their actions, the cricketers blurred this distinction. That is, while the nature of the spot-fixing was most unlikely to change the overall result of the match, their failure to compete to the level of their ability undermines a cherished, if overly idealistic, aspect of sporting competition. They cheated but their rewards were personal, financial, not found on the sports field and not, presumably, to the benefit of their team. Yet cricketers that 'plied their trade' in apartheid South Africa in open defiance of the Gleneagles Agreement also did so for personal enrichment. Their playing in South Africa did not change the nature of the game itself as each of the matches played was, as far as is known, unpredictable in terms of its outcome (but may have altered the trajectory of the apartheid regime). Arguably, rebel players not only sullied the reputation of cricket with their disregard of the Gleneagles Agreement but also practiced deception in arguing that their activities imposed no costs. Majority representative organisations opposed sporting contacts and South Africans that engaged in activism against the tours suffered extensive state-sponsored persecution. Moreover, the South African government rewarded corporations that supported the tours, directing expenditure from more needy communities.⁸⁸ Perhaps the clearest deception of all was, through comment and action, to imply sport and politics are distinct. Many cricket fans opposed the tours and saw the harm they did to the anti-apartheid struggle but cricket's establishment rarely, if ever, suggested the very integrity of the game was at stake.

The playing of and commentary upon cricket plays its part in cementing negative attitudes about the Muslim other. Players, administrators and journalists readily reproduce Orientalist accounts of the Pakistani (and Asian) other and so play a part in the demonization of Muslims in the post-9/11 world. If so, not only does this have negative consequences for Muslims generally, such commentary also adds to communal tensions within countries like the UK where people of Indian sub-continent are a highly visible minority. Moreover, bewailing cricket's lost innocence at the hands of Pakistani cricketers is another vehicle of nostalgia that prevents English cricket and Britain more generally from coming to terms with its colonial past.

Notes

1. Chapman, "Strong Emotions."
2. Magazine, "Azharuddin and 4 Others"; ESPNcricinfo Staff, "Cronje Chronicles"
3. See, for example, BBC News "Indian Cricketers Arrested"
4. Gilroy, *Postcolonial Melancholia*.
5. Ibid., 99.
6. Noble, "The Face of Evil," 14.
7. Reichmuth and Werning, "Pixel Pashas," 47.
8. Carrington, "Sport Matters," 965-66.
9. Malcolm, *Globalizing Cricket*, 58.
10. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 93.
11. Fletcher, "English Cricket Cultures," 21.
12. James, *Beyond a Boundary*, 38-39.
13. Perera, "Cricket with a Plot," 516.
14. Ibid.
15. Sardar, "A Question of Identity"; Malcolm, *Globalizing Cricket*, 53-60.
16. Carrington and McDonald, "Racism in Local Cricket," 49-50.
17. Sen, "Enduring Colonialism," 238.
18. Malcolm, *Globalizing Cricket*, 57.
19. Holden, "IR Meets Sport," 353.
20. Farred, "Cultural Struggle and Postcolonialism," 103
21. Ibid., 96-97.
22. Ibid., 101.
23. Fletcher, "Cricket, Migration and Diasporic Communities," 148.
24. Pace bowlers shine one side of a cricket ball as a game unfolds. One side becomes progressively rougher and a skilful bowler can use the shiny/rough combination to make the ball swing through the air. A batsman will note the way a bowler holds the ball to predict which way it will swing. Reverse swing is an art that sees a ball swinging in the opposition direction to what it should such that it swings towards the shine with an inswinger becoming an outswinger. It is a most difficult bowling art to master.
25. Rumford, "More than a Game," 213.
26. Fletcher, "English Cricket Cultures," 27.
27. Bailey, *A History of Cricket*, 135.
28. Gandhi, *Affective Communities*, 81-82.
29. Ibid.
30. Sen, "Enduring Colonialism," 242.
31. Ibid., 243.
32. Carrington and McDonald, "Racism in Local Cricket," 52.
33. Williams, "Paki Cheats," 93.
34. Ibid., 102.
35. Garside, "Pakistan Cricket Scam."
36. Sen, "Enduring Colonialism," 238-39.
37. Searle, "Cricket and Mirror of Racism."
38. Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, 189; Searle, "Cricket and Mirror of Racism," 45-49.
39. Waraich, "How Boycott Swung Verdict."
40. Searle, "Cricket and Mirror of Racism," 48.
41. Bowyer Bell and Whaley, *Cheating and Deception*; Kagle, "Are We Lying to Ourselves?"

-
42. Robinson, *Deceit, Delusion and Detection*, 70-72.
 43. Ibid., 106-10.
 44. See Alatas, *Myth of the Lazy Native*.
 45. Scott, *Weapons of the Weak*.
 46. Scott, *Domination and Arts of Resistance*.
 47. Bowyer Bell and Whaley, *Cheating and Deception*.
 48. Porter, *Military Orientalism*, 48.
 49. Ibid., 18-29; 98-102.
 50. Bowyer Bell and Whaley, *Cheating and Deception*, xxii.
 51. Kass and London, "Strategic Imperatives," 65.
 52. Ibid., 62.
 53. Probyn, "Sporting Bodies," 20-21.
 54. Cole, "Close Encounters," 345-47.
 55. Dobell, "ICC Ponders LBW Change."
 56. Reddiford, "Cheating and Self-Deception," 230.
 57. Ibid.
 58. Loland, "The Varieties of Cheating," 14.
 59. Ibid., 11-12.
 60. Cooke, "Sentencing Remarks."
 61. Miller, "Spot-fixing Controversy."
 62. Brearley, "Pakistan Cricket Scandal."
 63. Brenkley, "ICC Lay Down Law."
 64. Twomey, "Pakistan Test Match Cheats."
 65. Greenwood, "We Will Never Be Able to Trust."
 66. Jackson, "Darrell Hair Calls Pakistan's Players."
 67. Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, 43-44.
 68. Jeffreys, *Sport and Politics*, 107.
 69. The international body governing cricket was formed as the Imperial Cricket Conference in 1909 by England, Australia and South Africa and was renamed the International Cricket Conference in 1965. It took up its current name and form as the International Cricket Council in 1989.
 70. Marqusee, *Anyone but England*, 205-41.
 71. Sen, "Enduring Colonialism," 239-40.
 72. Marqusee, "In Search of Unequivocal Englishman," 127; Fletcher, "English Cricket Cultures," 18. The organisation was established in the wake of Robert Henderson's article in a 1995 edition of *Wisden Cricket Monthly* arguing it was the presence of non-white players that explained the malaise in the England cricket team.
 73. Williams, "Paki Cheats."
 74. Vaidyanathan, "The Unforgiven."
 75. ESPN and EMEA Ltd., "Full Transcript."
 76. Marks, "ICC Sanctions on Pakistan."
 77. ESPNcricinfoStaff, "Former ACSU Chief."
 78. Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 107; Gupta, "Globalization of Cricket"; Rumford, "More than a Game."
 79. Holden, "IR Meets Sport," 343.
 80. Gupta, "Globalization of Cricket," 263; Rumford, "More than a Game," 203.
 81. Werbner, "Our Blood is Green."
 82. Williams, "Paki Cheats," 103.

-
83. Bateman, "Cricket Writing," 41.
 84. Ibid., 33.
 85. Farrington et al., *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism*, 103.
 86. Williams, "Cricket," 126.
 87. Searle, Searle, "Cricket and Mirror of Racism," 48-49.
 88 Nixon, "Apartheid on the Run," 80.

Bibliography

- Alatas, S. *The Myth of the Lazy Native: A Study of the Image of the Malays, Filipinos and Javanese from the 16th to the 20th Century and its Function in the Ideology of Colonial Capitalism*. London: Frank Cass, 1977.
- Appadurai, A. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1996.
- Bailey, T. *A History of Cricket*. London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979.
- Bateman, A. "Cricket Writing, Heritage and Ideology." In *Sport, History, and Heritage: Studies in Public Representation*, edited by J. Hill, K. Moore and J. Wood, 33-43. Woodbridge, Suffolk: The Boydell Press, 2012.
- BBC News. 2013. "Indian Cricketers Arrested Over Spot-Fixing Allegations." *BBC News*, May 16 2013. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-asia-india-22549897>.
- Bowyer-Bell, J., and Whaley, B. *Cheating and Deception*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers, 2009.
- Brearley, M. "Pakistan cricket scandal: all too easy the descent into hell." *The Guardian*, November 5, 2011. <http://www.guardian.co.uk/sport/2011/nov/05/pakistan-cricket-scandal-mike-brearley>.
- Brenkley, S. "ICC Lay Down Law in Bid to Fix the Fixers." *The Independent*, February 6, 2011. <http://www.independent.co.uk/sport/cricket/icc-lay-down-the-law-in-bid-to-fix-the-fixers-2205715.html>.
- Carrington, B. 2012. "Introduction: Sport Matters." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 35, (6) (2012): 961-970.
- Carrington, B., and I. McDonald. "Whose Game is it Anyway? Racism in Local League Cricket." In *'Race', Sport and British Society*, edited by B. Carrington and I. McDonald, 49-69. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Chapman, M. "Strong Emotions About Disgraced South Africa Captain Hansie Cronje Even 10 Years After His Death." *The Telegraph*, 29 May, 2012. <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/cricket/international/southafrica/9298694/Strong-emotions-about-disgraced-South-Africa-captain-Hansie-Cronje-even-10-years-after-his-death.html>.
- Cole, C.L. "Close Encounters: Sport, Science, and Political Culture." In *A Companion to Cultural Studies*, edited by T. Miller, 341-356. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

-
- Cooke, J. *Sentencing Remarks*. edited by Southwark Crown Court: London, 2011.
<http://genevalunch.com/wp-content/uploads/2011/11/butt-others-sentencing-remarks-03112011.pdf>
- Dobell, G. "ICC Ponders LBW Change for Switch Hits." *ESPNCricinfo*, 9 May, 2012.
<http://www.espncricinfo.com/ci-icc/content/story/564249.html>
- ESPN, and EMEA Ltd. "Full Transcript of Mohammad Amir Interview." *ESPN Cricinfo.com*. March 20, 2012.
<http://www.espncricinfo.com/pakistan/content/current/story/558047.html>
- ESPNCricinfoStaff. "The Cronje Chronicles " *ESPN Cricinfo.com*, July 22 2013.
<http://www.espncricinfo.com/ci/content/story/654219.html>.
- ESPNCricinfoStaff. "Former ACSU chief says match-fixing was rampant in the 1980s, 90s- Condon." *ESPN Cricinfo.com*. November 15, 2011.
<http://www.espncricinfo.com/ci-icc/content/current/story/540683.html>.
- Farred, G. "The Double Temporality of Lagaan: Cultural Struggle and Postcolonialism." *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* 28 (2) (2004):93-114. doi: 10.1177/0193723504264410.
- Farrington, N., D. Kilvington, J. Price, and A. Saeed. *Race, Racism and Sports Journalism*. London: Routledge, 2012.
- Fletcher, T. "The Making of English Cricket Cultures: Empire, Globalization and (Post) Colonialism." *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 14, (1) (2011):17-36. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2011.530006>
- Fletcher, T. "Cricket, Migration and Diasporic Communities." *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power* 22, (2) (2015):141-153. doi: 10.1080/1070289X.2014.901222.
- Gandhi, L. *Affective Communities: Anticolonial Thought, Fin-De-Siecle Radicalism, and the Politics of Friendship*. Durham, NC.: Duke University Press, 2006.
- Garside, K. "Pakistan Cricket Scam: Sport Dies the Moment Cheats Join the Game." *The Telegraph*, 30 August, 2010.
<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/cricket/7971394/Pakistan-cricket-scam-Sport-dies-the-moment-cheats-join-the-game.html>.
- Gilroy, P. *Postcolonial Melancholia*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2005.
- Greenwood, C. "We Will Never Be Able to Trust Cricket Again: Judge's Damning Verdict as Three Shamed Pakistani Cricketers are Jailed for Corruption " *The Daily Mail*, 4 November, 2011. <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2056982/Pakistan-spot-fixing-players-corrupt-agent-jailed-cricket-betting-scandal.html>.
- Gupta, A. "The Globalization of Cricket: The Rise of the Non-West." *The International Journal of the History of Sport* 21, (2) (2004): 257-276.
<http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/09523360410001681975>
- Holden, G. "World Cricket as a Postcolonial International Society: IR Meets the History of Sport." *Global Society* 22, (3) (2008):337-68. DOI: 10.1080/13600820802090504

-
- Jackson, J. "Darrell Hair Calls Pakistan's Tour Players "Cheats, Frauds and Liars"." *The Guardian*, 25 September, 2010.
<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2010/sep/25/darrell-hair-pakistan>.
- James, C.L.R. *Beyond a Boundary*. London: Sportsman's Book Club, 1964.
- Jeffreys, K. *Sport and Politics in Modern Britain: The Road to 2012*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012.
- Kagle, J. D. "Are we Lying to Ourselves about Deception?" *Social Service Review* 72, (2) (1998): 234-250.
- Kass, L., and J. P. London. "Surprise, Deception, Denial and Warning: Strategic Imperatives." *Orbis* 57, (1) (2013):59-82.
- Loland, S. "The Varieties of Cheating- Comments on Ethical Analyses in Sport." *Sport in Society: Cultures, Commerce, Media, Politics* 8, (1) (2005.):11-26. DOI: 10.1080/1743043052000316597
- Magazine, Pradeep. "Azharuddin and 4 Others are Punished for Cricket Match Fixing: Former India Captain Banned." *New York Times*, December 6 2000.
<http://www.nytimes.com/2000/12/06/sports/azharuddin-and-4-others-are-punished-for-cricket-match-fixing-former.html>.
- Malcolm, D. *Globalizing Cricket: Englishness, Empire and Identity*. London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013.
- Marks, V. "ICC's Sanctions on Pakistan Trio Necessary for Sake of Cricket." *The Observer*, 5 February, 2011.
<https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2011/feb/05/icc-suspension-pakistan-players>.
- Marqusee, M. "In Search of the Unequivocal Englishman: the Conundrum of Race and the Nation in English Cricket." In *'Race', Sport and British Society*, edited by B. Carrington and I. McDonald, 121-132. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Marqusee, M. *Anyone But England: An Outsider Looks at English Cricket*. London: Aurum Press Ltd., 2005.
- Miller, A. "Spot-fixing Controversy: A Cleansing Process." *ESPN Cricinfo.com*. 3 November, 2011.
<http://www.espnricinfo.com/magazine/content/story/539114.html>.
- Nixon, R. "Apartheid on the Run: The South African Sports Boycott." *Transition* 58 (1992):68-88.
- Noble, G. "The Face of Evil: Demonising the Arab Other in Contemporary Australia." *Cultural Studies Review* 14, (2) (2008):14-33.
 DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5130/csr.v14i2.2069>
- Perera, S. "'Cricket, with a Plot': Nationalism, Cricket, and Diasporic Identities." In *A Companion to Cultural Studies*, edited by T. Miller, 510-527. Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2006.
- Porter, P. *Military Orientalism: Eastern War Through Western Eyes*. London: Hurst & Company, 2009.
- Probyn, E. "Sporting Bodies: Dynamics of Shame and Pride." *Body & Society* 6, (1) (2000):13-28.

-
- Reddiford, G. "Cheating and Self-Deception in Sport." In *Ethics and Sport*, edited by M.J. McNamee and S.J. Parry, 225-239. London: E & FN Spon, 1998.
- Reichmuth, P. and S. Werning. "Pixel Pashas, Digital Djinns." *ISIM Review* 18 (2006): 46-47. <https://openaccess.leidenuniv.nl/handle/1887/17085>
- Robinson, W.P. *Deceit, Delusion, and Detection*. Thousand Oaks, CA.: Sage Publications, Inc., 1996.
- Rumford, C. "More Than a Game: Globalization and the Post-Westernization of World Cricket." *Global Networks* 7, (2) (2007):202-214.
- Sardar, Z. "A Question of Identity." *The Guardian*, 2 July, 2006. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2006/jul/02/cricket.features1>
- Scott, J.C. *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Scott, J. C. *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Searle, C. "Cricket and the Mirror of Racism." *Race and Class* 34, (3) (1993):45-53.
- Sen, S. "Enduring Colonialism in Cricket: From Ranjitsinhji to the Cronje Affair." *Contemporary South Asia* 10, (2) 2001):237-249. doi: 10.1080/09584930120083837.
- Twomey, J. "Pakistan Test Match Cheats Facing Jail Over Test Match Fix." *The Express*, 2 November, 2011. <http://www.express.co.uk/news/uk/281174/Pakistan-cricket-cheats-facing-jail-over-Test-match-fix>.
- Vaidyanathan, S. "The Unforgiven." *ESPNCricinfo.com*. 2 August, 2007. <http://www.espncricinfo.com/ci/content/story/286356.html>
- Waraich, O. "How Boycott Swung the Verdict." *The Guardian*, 29 September, 2006. <https://www.theguardian.com/sport/2006/sep/29/cricket.sport>.
- Werbner, P. "'Our Blood is Green': Cricket, Identity and Social Empowerment Among British Pakistanis." In *Sport, Identity and Ethnicity*, edited by J. MacClancy, 87-111. Oxford: Berg, 1996.
- Williams, J. "Cricket." In *Sport in Britain: A Social History*, edited by T. Mason, 116-145. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Williams, J. "'Paki Cheats!' Postcolonial Tensions in England-Pakistan Cricket." In *Sport and Postcolonialism*, edited by J. Bale and M. Cronin, 91-105. Oxford: Berg, 2003.